

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

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USDEL JEC PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 1766

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, PLS, VS, HU

SUBJECT: ICCS: POLISH AND HUNGARIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM

REF: (A) STATE 059898; (B) WARSAW 1757; (C) STATE 069964

1. ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER TREPCZYNSKI (ASSISTED BY INTERPRETER ZAKRZEWSKI, WHO TOOK NOTES) RECEIVED ME AT 3:00 P. M. LOCAL APRIL 14 FOR A HALF- HOUR MEETING. HE FIRST READ ME AN ORAL STATEMENT IN ENGLISH, THE TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS . SUBSEQUENTLY, HE MADE " OBSERVATIONS, REPRESENTING THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS", AS WELL AS OF HIMSELF, PERSONALLY (THUS DISTINGUISHING THESE SUBSEQUENT OBSERVATIONS FROM THE VIEWS CONTAINED IN THE ORAL STATEMENT, WHICH ARE THOSE OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT). THESE OBSERVATIONS ARE CONTAINED IN THE NEXT FOLLOWING MESSAGE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

REFERRING TO THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WITH REGARD TO THE ACTIVITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION IN VIET NAM DECLARED TO THE POLISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON ON 30 MARCH, CONFIDENTIAL

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1973, AND TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF POLAND IN WARSAW ON 7 APRIL, 1973, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WISHES TO STATE THE FOLLOWING:

1. POLAND UNDERTOOK TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ICCS NOT ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE BUT AT THE REQUEST OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM BELIEVING THAT IT COULD THEREBY CONTRIBUTE TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE IN SOUTH VIET NAM. WHILE MAKING THAT DECISION POLAND WAS PROMPTED NOT BY ANY NARROW CONSIDERATIONS BUT BY A DESIRE OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

2. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC HAS ALWAYS HELD THE POSITION THAT THE ICCS CAN FUNCTION ONLY GIVEN THE GOOD WILL OF THE TWO SIDES TO IMPLEMENT THE PARIS AGREEMENT. THIS CONTINUES TO BE OUR POSITION. THE ICCS HAS NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED AS A POLICE FORCE; NEITHER MAY IT SUBSTITUTE OR BY-PASS THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES WHICH ARE UNDER THE OBLIGATION TO COOPERATE WITH THE ICCS. IT IS THE FIRM BELIEF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC THAT ONLY THE ACTIVITY CONDUCTED STRICTLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT AND THE OBSERVANCE OF ALL ITS PROVISIONS CAN GUARANTEE A GENUINELY IMPARTIAL AND OBJECTIVE POSITION OF THE ICCS AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE SUCCESS OF THE MISSION WITH WHICH THE ICCS HAS BEEN ENTRUSTED. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ICCS DEPENDS DIRECTLY ON THE DEGREE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES AND ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSION. THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ICCS WILL- IN THE OPINION OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT- INCREASE FOLLOWING THE PROCESS OF BRINGING ABOUT BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES OF THE RELATIONS DEFINED IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT. UNFORTUNATELY, THE PRESENT INTERNAL SITUATION OF SOUTH VIET NAM IS NOT FAVOURABLE FOR SUCH RELATIONS TO BE INSTITUTED.

3. ARMED STRUGGLE IN SOUTH VIET NAM CONTINUES CHIEFLY OWING TO THE DANGEROUS POLICY OF THE AUTHORITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM WHO UTILIZE THE TREMENDOUS MILITARY POTENTIAL ACCUMULATED DURING MANY YEARS AND EMPLOY AN ARMY SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN STRONG IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO TILT, BY BRUTE FORCE, THE EXISTING POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL

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STATUS IN THEIR FAVOUR. THIS IS OFTEN REPORTED BY THE AMERICAN PRESS. IT IS PRECISELY SUCH POLICY OF THE AUTHORITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM THAT CONSTITUTES THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF TENSION AND THE SOURCE OF THE ARMED INCIDENTS VIOLATING THE PARIS AGREEMENT. IN THE TERRITORY CONTROLLED BY THE AUTHORITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM A RUTHLESS POLICE- AND- MILITARY TERROR PREVAILS, DRASTIC FORMS OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY ARE USED, AND ANY OPPOSITIONAL VOICES ASKING FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS ARE BEING

BRUTALLY SUPPRESSED. FOLLOWING 27 JANUARY, 1973, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PERSONS IN SOUTH VIET NAM LOST THEIR LIVES OR WERE WOUNDED. MANY THOUSANDS ARE LANGUISHING IN PRISONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM MOST INHUMAN CONDITIONS. THE AUTHORITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM APPLY RUTHLESS TERROR. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SUCH POLICY OF THE AUTHORITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM, OVER WHICH THE ICCS HAS NO INFLUENCE WHATSOEVER, DOES NOT PROMOTE RECONCILIATION OR NATIONAL CONCORD; ON THE CONTRARY, IT AGGRAVATES THE EXISTING TENSION.

4. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THE ACTIVITY OF THE ICCS, WHICH IS EVEN DEPRIVED OF SUFFICIENT SECURITY, IS VERY DIFFICULT. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT EXPRESSES ITS SURPRISE AND CONCERN OVER THE CHARGES CONTAINED IN THE AMERICAN STATEMENT AND ADDRESSED TO THE POLISH DELEGATION IN THE ICCS REGARDING ITS ALLEGED LACK OF IMPARTIALITY AND ITS ALLEGED HAMPERING OF THE WORK OF THE ICCS. SUCH CHARGES CANNOT BE SUBSTANTIATED. THE STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT EVEN SAYS THAT " THE ICCS AFTER TWO MONTHS IS STILL FAILING COMPLETELY TO DISCHARGE THE RESPONSIBILITIES ENTRUSTED TO IT IN THE PEACE AGREEMENT", WHILE IN FACT IT DOES HAVE TO ITS CREDIT SPECIFIC AND OBJECTIVE ACTIVITY EXPRESSED , INTER ALIA, BY ABOUT 50 INVESTIGATIONS UNDERTAKEN ON THE BASIS OF THOSE COMPLAINTS, FILED BY THE PARTIES, WHICH MET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

5. THE POLISH DELEGATION TO THE ICCS, IMPLEMENTING THE MANDATE OF THE COMMISSION, HAS ACTED WITH REASON AND RESTRAINT, MINDFUL OF THE ACUTE ANTAGONISM OF THE TWO SIDES CONDITIONED BY HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONFLICTS. THE POLISH DELEGATION DID NOT SUPPLY THE PRESS WITH THE INFORMATION ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ICCS IN THE BELIEF CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT IT IS INADMISSIBLE TO INVOLVE THE INTERNATIONAL ORGAN INTO PROPAGANDA EXERCISES WHICH CAN BUT INFLUENCE ADVERSELY THE DISCHARGE OF THE TASKS ENTRUSTED TO THE ICCS. THE POLISH DELEGATION FELT THAT IN THE ORGAN ONE SHOULD AVOID CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE OF NERVOUSNESS AND QUARREL SINCE THIS COULD ONLY HAMPER ITS WORK AND UNDERMINE ITS AUTHORITY. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IS KEEPING ABREAST OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE POLISH DELEGATION AND, RECENTLY, DURING THE VISIT OF AMBASSADOR B. WASILEWSKI TO WARSAW, HAS MADE A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DELEGATION' S WORK.

6. IT IS OUR PROFOUND CONVICTION THAT THROUGH OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE WORK OF THE ICCS WE ARE DISCHARGING A DIFFICULT TASK VIS- A- VIS INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND WE ARE CONTRIBUTING TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN VIET NAM. IT IS THE HOPE OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT THAT FURTHER

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIET NAM WILL ENABLE THE ICCS TO DISCHARGE ITS MANDATE, AND THE POLISH DELEGATION - TO IMPLEMENT THE RESPONSIBILITIES IT HAS UNDERTAKEN. THIS DEPENDS PRIMARILY ON A GENUINE READINESS OF THE TWO PARTIES TO IMPLEMENT THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC BELIEVES THAT THE EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON THE MATTERS UNDER DISCUSSION, REGARDING WHICH THE POLISH AND AMERICAN SIDES MAY HAVE DIFFERENT STANDPOINTS, MAY BE USEFUL. HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE SHOULD AN ATTEMPT BE MADE TO SADDLE POLAND WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SITUATION RESULTING FROM THE WAR THAT HAS BEEN GOING ON IN VIET NAM FOR YEARS.

7. IT IS THE FIRM POSITION OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT THAT THE THESIS EXPRESSED IN THE UNITED STATES STATEMENT ON A NEGATIVE IMPACT OF THE ACTIVITY IN THE ICCS ON THE STATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS IS NOT ACCEPTABLE. IN THE OPINION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC A CLEAR LINE SHOULD BE DRAWN TO SET APART THE SPHERE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES FROM THE SPHERE OF THEIR ACTIVITY IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANS. FOR THIS REASON THERE IS NOT, AND THERE CANNOT BE, ANY JUNCTURE BETWEEN THE ACTIVITY OF THE POLISH DELEGATION IN THE ICCS (PARTICIPATING IN IT AT THE REQUEST, INTER ALIA, OF THE UNITED STATES) AND THE COMAIN OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.
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THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WISHES TO STATE WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES ARE DEVELOPING FAVORABLY AND THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE IMPORTANT VISIT OF PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON TO POLAND. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE WORKING CONSISTENTLY FOR A FURTHER EXPANSION OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. END TEXT.
DAVIES

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